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A
VINDICATION

Of the Late

House of Commons,

In Rejecting the BILL for Confirming the
Eighth and Ninth ARTICLES of the

Treaty of Navigation & Commerce

BETWEEN

England and France.

Humbly recommended to the Right Ho-
nourable the *Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Com-
mon Council* of the City of LONDON;

By a Citizen.

*Meneclides invidens Epaminonda Gloria
Suasit populo, ut pacem haberent bello potiozem.
Cui Epaminondas : Fallis inquit, Cives tuos, qui
Otii nomine eos ad servitutem vocas. Erasim.*

LONDON

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THE
PREFACE.



HIS small Tract was begun and methodiz'd before the Dissolution of the Parliament, but, upon the appearance of several ingenious Essays on the same Subject, laid aside; and had still continued in Obscurity, had not the Clamours of the Friends of *France* against those that appear'd against the *Bill of Commerce*, the fierce Opposition every where made to prevent their re-election, and the Irregularities practis'd in the Metropolis of the Kingdom, in favour of One that shut his Eyes and voted *For* the Bill, made it necessary to review and enlarge what I had compos'd in Vindication of the Proceedings of that memorable Day, in which the TRADE of *England* was in the utmost Jeopardy.

I have known this famous City, for above Forty Years, propos'd as an Example to all the Cities and Boroughs of the Nation, for the Fairness of Her Elections, and am concern'd that a Shade should be cast over Her Glory, by a succession of Actions without a President: For a Poll to be continued for 12 Days; a Scrutiny, for some time, to be deny'd, longer delay'd; when enter'd upon, for *Ministerial Officers* to send their Precepts sitting as Inquisitors, and in a summary way judging of the Validity of *Charters* and *Liveries*, was what was new and surprizing, and which was never attempted in any of the Courts at *Westminster*: What was this, but superseding the Privilege of Juries, and, as much as in them lay, annulling *Magna Charta*, which hath been above thirty times confirm'd with a Solemnity scarce to be parallel'd since the publishing the Law from Mount *Sinai*?

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The PREFACE.

When before were the *Affidavits of Absent Persons* personated at the Poll, rejected? Debates so unreasonably protracted? Little less than an Hour was sufficient to decide the matter, "Whether a Person in Court, who had been enter'd on the Books as polling for all the Candidates, should not lose his Vote, notwithstanding offering his Oath that he poll'd only for Four, and who they were. An Officer dead before the Day of Election, whose Name was on the Poll-books, not being able to speak for himself, had taken up more of their Time in deciding the Validity thereof, had not one of the Scrutineers ask'd, *Whether his Place was not dispos'd of?* which produc'd an ingenuous Acknowledgment, that it was only treated for; and, that a Petition had been offer'd by the Widow for Favour.

During the whole Procedure, so much Noise and Clamour, thro' indecent Interruptions, and many Voices mingling together, was heard, that had there been several *Forging Hammers* at work in *Guild-hall*, they would not have created greater Confusion and Disturbance: And at length, without previous notice, the Scrutiny abruptly ended, before a fifth part of the several Companies of *London* were examin'd: Want of Time was indeed pretended, but a Return was not made until several Days afterwards, as I have been inform'd.

Some Persons perhaps may think what I have added at the close of this Discourse impertinent, which, I doubt not, will by others be reputed necessary; whilst we have so many Advocates for a *French Trade*, the consequence of which will encrease the Power of *France*; so many for promoting the drinking of Healths, and the playing of Tunes at publick and private meetings, in favour of the *Pretender*, whose chief relyance is on the Power of that Monarch, and who, to keep his Interest alive in these Kingdoms, hath lately made a Present of his Picture to his Chaplains, Ordinary and Extraordinary, with a Greek Motto for them to paraphrase upon. By the former I mean *Non-Furors*, whom I esteem the honestest Men; by the latter, those that a great Prelate mention'd in his Speech in the House of Lords, "Who take *Oaths*, and use *all Prayers*, both Ordinary and Extraordinary, for the Government, and yet in their *Actings* and *Discourses*, and of late in their *Sermons*, they shew visibly that they look another way.

What

The PREFACE.

What but Kindness to the *Pretender* makes Persons traduce the *Revolution*, asperse the Memory of our late *Glorious Deliverer*, contradict the Prayers of our excellent *Liturgy*? What other Cause can be assign'd why the same Men treat the Illustrious *Marlborough* with so much Scorn and Contempt? One would think that so many signal Marks of Royal Favour, so many Thanks with great Solemnity from both Houses of Parliament, given him for his great and eminent Services, should have guarded his Person from such inhuman usage.

I do believe my Lord of *Chichester*, that learned Prelate, then spake the Sence of the generality of the Nation, as well as his own, when having with great Eloquence mention'd his *Wisdom*, *Valour*, and *Conduct*, concluded with these words, *What can be farther added, besides one Campaign more, to finish this War, and his own great Character, but ----- the Lawrels (or Olives rather) of that begin to wither, tho' with great Art and Cunning contriv'd and wreath'd, and by the Examiner placed on the Brows of another, as the reward of Unactive Obedience!*

That which was a further inducement to me to enlarge upon the Argument, was, the observing that of late years many have been chosen *ex facie Civitatis*, of the meanest Citizens, to transact the Arduous Affairs of this great City, Cousin-Germans to those of the Tribe of *Issachar*, easily impos'd upon by those, who acting from private Views, have carried them into Measures inconsistent with their Duty and the Interest of *London*. If what I have said in this little Essay will neither convince their Judgments, nor alter their Practice, with reference to the 8th and 9th Articles of the *Treaty of Commerce with France*, I must leave them to Arguments more adapted to Sence, even to those with which the Men of *Succoth* were instructed, the weight and pungency of which whensoever it shall be their Lot to feel, I question not but they then will with Sorrow (tho' perhaps too late) cry out one after another, *Non putaram*. But the Success of the Struggles of this * Day give ground to hope, that the ancient Spirit and Genius of the Nation of *London* is rousing; the Day dawning, that will more and more brighten our Prospect, retrieve her Glory, encrease her Wealth, preserve her Privileges, and her Trade from destructive Foreign *Treaties of Commerce*.

* St. Thomas's Day.

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1. **T**HE Characters of a $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Good} \\ \text{Bad} \end{array} \right\}$ Trade enumerated.
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A



A
VINDICATION
 OF THE
Late House of Commons,

In Rejecting the Bill for Confirming the 8th and 9th ARTICLES of the Treaty of Commerce between England and France.



IF we consider England with respect to its Situation, the Conveniency of its Harbours, the Excellency of its Constitution, its native Commodities, its many advantageous Colonies and Plantations, and the Genius of its Inhabitants, we may conclude, that there is no Nation in the Universe hath greater Opportunities to encrease in Wealth, in Honour, in Power. For,

By a well-regulated and concerted Commerce we may unlade the Riches of Foreign Countries at our Ports, promote Navigation, encrease the number of Seamen, multiply our Coin, and with it add new Accessions of Glory and Greatness.

Lewis the 14th, govern'd by the Wise Maxims of Richelieu and Mazarine, hath advanc'd the Trade of France beyond any of his Predecessors, and therewith gradually so encreas'd in Power, both at Sea and Land, as to contend with the united Fleets of England and Holland for the Sovereignty of the Sea, and with them and us, in alliance with other Princes, for the Empire of Europe.

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That Monarch hath long with an Envious Eye beheld the *Fleur de Lys's* in the Royal Standard, and the flourishing Trade of *Britain*, but convinc'd by the Losses and Defeats of seven inglorious Campaigns, that 'tis in vain to expect to regain the former or ruin the latter, by contending in the Field with the superiour Valour and Strength of Her Majesties Forces and Allies, he attempts, according to the Observation of a † Noble Historian, to obtain by *Treaty* what he hath lost by *Battel* in the Field.

Indeed whosoever reads the Histories of those Transactions, cannot but remark the many Arts and Finenesses always practis'd by the *French* Court; but we need not go further back than the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce, that was lately the great Subject of Debate in Parliament, but that August Assembly saw thro' those Disguises by which he attempted to establish the Trade of *France* on the Ruins of that of *Great-Britain*, and Rejected the Bill for the confirmation thereof, thereby signaling a Day which deserves to be distinguish'd in the English Calendar with Letters of Gold, and celebrated with Acclamations of Joy by all the Manufacturers (and those whose Interest is concern'd in the Trade) of this Nation.

But such is the Ignorance (to say no worse) of some amongst us, that one of the brightest Actions of that Great Body can't escape their Censure; and a Paper, written with an Air of Arrogance (without any regard to Truth and Honesty) peculiar to the Author, is twice a week industriously sent into the Country to amuse the Vulgar: But, expecting some ingenious Person will chastise this worthless and mercenary Wretch, and shew the Sophistry, the Forgeries, the Contradictions, and partial Representations of his Writings, I shall pursue my Design, which is to vindicate the Parliament in rejecting the Bill of Confirmation. In order hereunto, I shall consider what are the Characters of a *Beneficial Trade*; next I shall enquire what are the Properties of a *Bad one*; and then compare them, and see which of 'em do agree or disagree with what probably will be the Issue of establishing a Trade with *France* upon the foot of the Articles of Commerce; and afterwards proceed to make some Observations thereon, and shew the Artifice of *France* in the framing thereof, and conclude with some general Remarks.

A Trade

† Philip de Commynes.

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A Trade advantageous to a Nation may be estimated from these Characters, *viz.*

1. When the Quantities of Goods exported exceeds the Value of what is imported, whether they are of the growth and product of the Place, or such Goods as have receiv'd a further Manufacture therein, altho' the Materials are of foreign Original; or whether they are the product of some other Place, and only exported; for hereby Navigation is promoted, and the Balance is so much added to the Nation's Stock; being paid in Money; and the greater the Balance, the more beneficial the Trade.

2. Another Character of a *Good Trade* is, when a Nation exports its Manufactures and Native Commodities for Materials necessary for the working and improving its own Product, as *Oyls, Cochinele, Galls, &c.* or for such Goods as receive a further Manufacture therein, as *Raw Silk, Segovia Wool, &c.* or such as prevent the having the same imported manufactur'd; such would be the importing of Yarn from the *East-Indies* and *Northern Countries*; or such without which we could not carry on any considerable foreign Trade, or supply our Navy, as *Hemp, Flax, Pitch, Tarr,* and other Naval Stores, as also *Timber* for building.

3. That may be esteem'd a *Good Trade* that imports Goods to be re-exported to foreign Markets, which would otherwise be supply'd with the same Goods from other Places; especially if such Trades occasion the building Ships of force, useful for the defence of the Kingdom, and encrease of Seamen: Such are our Trades to the *Levant*, and the *Indies*, under the present Regulation.

4. It is very advantageous for a Nation to have *Colonies* depending thereon, to be supply'd solely with Manufactures and Provisions from thence, and Returns made in *Gold* and *Silver*, and such Commodities as are suited to the Expence of foreign Markets, from the Produce whereof great Additions are made to its Wealth: Such is our Plantation-Trade, from whence *England* hath receiv'd vast Encrease of Wealth.

I come now to give a description of a *pernicious Trade*, and we may take an account thereof from such Characters as these:

1. When we export our *Coin* or *Bullion* to purchase Commodities that interfere with, and are prejudicial to, our own
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Manufactures; for so much is diminish'd of the Nation's Stock, and the *Poor* are depriv'd of so much Work as are consum'd of those *Imported Goods*.

2. When our Imports exceed our Exports, and consist of such Commodities as we can be supply'd with from other foreign Parts, in barter for *our own* Manufactures: This is equally hurtful with the former, and attended with the same fatal Consequences.

3. When we send the Product and Growth of the Nation to be manufactur'd abroad, whereby those Markets are supply'd that would otherwise take off quantities of English Manufactures: Such is the suffering *our Wooll* to be exported in the Fleece.

4. When we send our Money abroad to purchase Superfluities administering to Luxury and Vanity; for this is so much lavish'd and thrown away, without any hopes of a Return or Recompence.

5. Such Trades as in their Consequences tend to depreciate Land, and discourage Tillage and Grazing, are to be guarded against, as very pernicious to the Interest of a Nation.

6. That Trade is carefully to be avoided which encreases the Power and Wealth of a foreign Prince, an ambitious Neighbour, who hath always been an Enemy to our Trade, to our Constitution, and our Religion; these we ought always to be zealous to preserve, therefore jealous of every thing that tends to render such a one more formidable. These things are so evident, as to need no enlargement.

I come now to compare these Characters of a *Good Trade* with the Trade which in all likelihood we should have had with *France*, if the 8th and 9th Articles of the *Treaty of Commerce* had been confirm'd.

1. It is evident beyond contradiction, that the Balance of Trade, for many Years together, between *England* and *France*, hath been in favour of the latter. *Dr. Davenant* owns, that from 1669 to 1689, French Importations encreas'd upon us, and our Exportations thither diminish'd: And *Sir Josiah Child* observes, that whereas formerly there was vend'd in that Kingdom annually to the amount of 600000 *l.* in English Drapery, there was then hardly vend'd 50000 *l.* worth: Since which time the making *Woollen Manufactures* in *France* is greatly improv'd, infomuch that not only fine *Spanish*, and coarse Cloths, are now made

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in great plenty and variety, but also *Bays, Kerseys, Grizats, Farandines, Ratines, Shaloons, Durances*, and several sorts of *Serges*, fit for their home-consumption, cloathing their Armies, and for exportation to *Spain, Italy, and Turkey*; as is more fully and particularly mention'd in an half-sheet of Paper, printed by a Merchant now in *England*, that liv'd 20 Years in *Languedoc*. So that considering these Improvements, the cheapness of Workmanship, their being so nearly ally'd to *Spain*, where French Councils are predominant, and the present *Impositions* reduced to those of 1664, there can be no prospect of finding a Market in *France* for our *Woollen Goods*, and little expectation of encreasing the Account by our *Plantation* and *Re-exported Goods*, which they have guarded against; as shall be made appear in the Sequel of this Discourse.

2. As we are far from adding to the Riches of the Kingdom by our Exportations to *France*, so as little Benefit can accrue from our Importations thence: Nothing capable of a further manufacturing; nothing of Naval Stores; nothing (or very inconsiderable) useful in improving our own Manufactures; no appearance of any Benefit and Advantage to tempt us to embrace a French Trade upon the foot which the *Treaty of Commerce* would have placed it.

3. We import nothing from *France* that we can re-export to foreign Markets, in order to reimburse with Advantage the Charges of procuring them: Besides, to carry on this Trade, Ships of force, and such as in time of War may be serviceable for the defence of the Kingdom, are not necessary; for every *Cockboat* will serve to cross the Chanel, and carry on the Traffick to and from the Ports of *France*.

4. All the Advantages we can have in view from a French Trade, are from the Exportation of our *Lead, Tin, Allom, Leather, Corn, and Coals*, with some other particulars of inconsiderable value, for which we shall have *France* for a Market tho' the *Treaty of Commerce* should never be confirm'd, in regard She can be furnish'd from no other place therewith upon equally-beneficial terms, as from *England*.

By this short View and Comparison we don't find any Argument to induce the Parliament to pass the Bill for confirming the 8th and 9th Articles of the *Treaty of Commerce*; for none of the Properties of a *Good Trade* correspond therewith. My next Enquiry is, to find what agree-

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ment there is between the Characters of a *Bad* and *Pernicious Trade*, and what we may reasonably suppose will be the result of a *Free Trade with France*; and that will appear from the following Particulars.

1. If we take an Estimate thereof from the Schemes and Representations laid before *K. Charles II.*, *K. William*, Committees of Council, and the Parliament, by the Lords Commissioners for Trade, for Treaties of Commerce, and Officers of the Custom-house, in which there is a general Concurrence, *That little less than a Million of Pounds Sterling went annually to France, to pay the Balance*: And that which accents the Mischief, was, that the greatest part thereof was to purchase Commodities that interfere with, and are detrimental to, the Manufactures of *England*, viz. *Silks, Linnen, Paper, Gold and Silver Thred-lace and Fringes, and Brandy*.

The *Silk Manufacture* is exceedingly improv'd and encreas'd in *England* within 30 years last past, so that there is now 300000 *l.* value *per Ann.* made here of plain black Silks, expended chiefly in Hoods and Scarfs, for which use we were formerly supply'd from *France*, purchas'd with our Money. 'Tis true, the high Duties on Lustrings and Alamodes will prevent their importation, unless by stealth, but there are comparatively small quantities of these now us'd, the great demand being of other sorts: Yet notwithstanding the Duty of 10 *s.* 6 *d.* *per pound*, the French will (thro' the advantages of having *Workmanship* cheaper, being at *Lyons* not above one half the price as in *England*, and great part of their Silk being the Product of *Languedoc, Provence, and Vivares*) afford 'em cheaper than we can. If the Consumption of *Hoods* and *Scarfs* rise to such a Value, to what an immense Sum will all the various sorts of plain and strip'd *Satins*, rich flower'd *Damasks*, *Silver Stuffs*, and *Brocades* amount! And what vast numbers of Families have now their Subsistence hereby! The *Weavers*, in their Case presented to the Parliament, do compute, that the *Workmanship* of the several Branches of this noble Manufacture is not less than 565000 *l.* *per annum*. Of what fatal consequence must it be, to throw down the Fences that the Legislature have with so much Prudence fix'd, to guard them from the Attempts and Artifices of *France*, which the confirming the 8th and 9th Articles of the *Treaty of Commerce* had effectually done, and thereby have

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have let in an Inundation of French Silks, to the utter Ruin of many Thousand Families!

But the mischievous Influence of importing French Silks extends equally to our Woollen Manufactures, vast quantities whereof are exported to *Turky* and *Italy*: To *Turky* the last Convoy carry'd thirty thousand *Cloths*, besides *Serges*. And as great a value of Woollen Manufactures, as fine and coarse *Cloths, Serges, Druggets, Says, Perpets, Kenseys*, and *Norwich Stuffs*, used annually to be sent to *Leghorn, Naples*, and other parts of *Italy*, and to *Messina*; in which Trades Ships, from 300 to 500 Ton burthen and upward, are employ'd. Returns are chiefly made in *Raw Silk, Grogram Yarn, Thrown Silk, Oyls, Wines*: Without taking these sorts of Goods (most of which admit of being a further manufacturing here) we could vend but an inconsiderable part of our *Woollen Cloths, Serges, &c.* And we shall soon find the *French* undermining us; for they want not Goods fit for their Markets: And from *Marseilles* to *Smyrna* they will make two Voyages for our one; and that Encouragement that will be given to the Silk Manufactures in *France*, by the Liberty given for their Importation into *England*, must proportionably encrease her Trade to *Italy* and the *Levant*, and obstruct ours, by destroying, in great part, the Silk and Woollen Manufactures of *England*.

French Linnens us'd to be another large Article in our Trade to *France*. The amount (according to the account laid before the last Session of Parliament from *Michaelmas* 1685, to *Michaelmas* 1686, was above four hundred thousand Pounds value imported exclusive of the Ports of *Deal, Dartmouth, Whitby, and Milford* for *Michaelmas* quarter. Other Representations mention a much greater value, but since the Prohibition hereof, this Manufacture is greatly encreased in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; from the latter, by a Medium of six years from *Christmas* 1699, to *Christmas* 1705, there hath been imported into *England*, upwards of three hundred ninety one thousand Ells *per Annum*, according to *Dr. Davenant*; and he adds, this Manufacture goes on since that time encreasing. A later Writer computes the value imported from thence at eighty thousand Pounds *per Annum*; and a far greater quantity is made in *North Britain*, and four times that value in the several Counties of *Cheshire, Yorkshire*, in the Counties of *Cumberland,*

land, Somerset, Dorset, Worcester, Warwick, Stafford, Leicester, Lincoln, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lancaster; in which last there is sixty thousand Persons esteemed to have their Subsistence hereby. *Somersetshire* and the Bishoprick of *Durham* do abound with *Flax*; People there work cheap, and spin so fine a Thread as to be worth 12 s. the Pound; and Linnen of 7 s. the Ell hath been made at *Malton* in *Yorkshire*: So that we are furnished with several sorts of Linnen for Sheeting, Tabling, and Shifting. But notwithstanding the Duty on the *French*, they will be enabled to undersell in low-priv'd Linnen 15, upon fine sorts 20 and 30 per Cent.* It is therefore plain, that a free Trade to *France* will carry away our Money to purchase what interferes with the Linnen Manufacture of *Great Britain*.

The next thing mention'd, was *Paper*; and as to this, instead of my own, I shall give you the thoughts of a late ingenious † Author, who well understood that Commodity and the *French* Trade. Since the high Duties (saith he) laid on Foreign Paper, and that none hath been imported from *France* (where 'tis cheapest) the making of it is encreas'd to such a degree in *England*, that we import none of the lower sorts from Abroad, and make them all ourselves. But if the *French* Duties be taken off, undoubtedly most of the Mills which are employed in the making of white Paper, must leave off their Work, and 30 to 40000 l. a year be remitted over to *France* for that Commodity.

The next Article is *Gold* and *Silver-Wyre*, *Lace*, *Thread*, *Fringes*, &c. In the various Branches thereof, not less than 20000 Persons are employ'd; (a Manufacture in several parts whereof the Workmanship is three times the cost of the Materials) great quantities have been annually exported, Returns for which have been made in *Pieces of eight*, *Gold-Dust*, *Gold-Bars*, *Modyda's* and *Crusado's*. There was lately a Duty laid on *Gilt* and *Silver-Wyre*, which rais'd a very inconsiderable Revenue to the Crown, but was very detrimental to the Manufacturers, both with respect to home-consumption and foreign-exports: There was, indeed, by the Act a draw-back allow'd in the favour of Exportation, but the end design'd was defeated by some ambiguous Words therein; for all Goods exported at the Out-Ports (from whence the greatest Parcels were usually

* Vid. Consequences of a Law, &c. † Maxims of Trade.

usually put on board) no allowance could be obtain'd, altho' regularly entred at the Custom-house at *London*, and Certificates had, unless the Merchant go thither in Person, and make such Oath, as is by the Act prescrib'd, before the Collector residing at the Port. And for the encouragement of our home Trade, there was a Clause prohibiting the importing into *Great Britain* (during the continuance of the Duty) all *Gold* and *Silver-Lace*, *Thread*, *Fringe*, or any thing made of *Gilt* and *Silver-Wyre*.

Had the Articles of *Commerce* therefore been confirm'd, this Prohibition had been repealed, and the Duty would have remain'd, which must have involv'd in it the Ruin of many Thousand Families: For the *French* being great Artists, and our Ladies esteeming little fashionable or genteel that is not (or at least thought to be) of *French* make, must have (especially during the continuance of the Duty) laid our English Manufacturers under insuperable Difficulties; and instead of having 4 quarters Assesment added to the 36 rated for the Poor in the precedent Year, and an encrease of 200 l. to the Debt of the Parish of *St. Giles Cripplegate*, (in which 6000 Persons are employ'd therein) further Additions must have succeeded*.

The last particular mention'd was *Brandy*, of which, before the restraint thereof, vast quantities were imported, but since the distilling of *Spirits* from *Malt* and *Molasses*, is become a very considerable Manufacture; not less than 600000 Gallons per Ann. having been produc'd in *England*; which would soon be reduc'd to a small quantity, whensoever *French Brandy's* shall be admitted; for they being esteem'd preferable to *English Spirits*, would be bought up (altho' at an advanced Price) whilst the other would be slighted.

This is sufficient to prove, that this Character of a *pernicious Trade* agrees with a *free Trade* to *France*; and doth abundantly justify the Parliament in rejecting the Bill for confirming the 8th and 9th Articles of the *Treaty of Commerce*.

2. The Second Character of a *bad Trade* doth with equal plainness appear to correspond with a *French Trade*; for had the Articles of *Commerce* received the Sanction of the Legislature, we must have sent our Money to *France* to

* Cripplegate Parish Case.

purchase those Goods, with which we are now supply'd from abroad in exchange for our Manufactures. I shall instance in *Wines* and *Linnens*.

It is undeniable, that ever since the Prohibition was taken off from our Woollen Manufactures, we have drove a very gainful Trade with *Portugal*, whereas for many years before not 20 Cloths a year were sent thither; we now send many thousand Pieces of all sorts of mixt Cloths. I have lately heard one of the greatest Dealers therein at *Blackwell-hall*, affirm, That a fifth part of the Cloths he sold were for the *Portugal* Trade: Besides, there are annually sent thither great quantities of *Bays*, *Serges*, *Calamanco's*, and other Worsted-Stuffs, Silk and Worsted-Hose. Dr. *Davenant* tells us, That in the *Portugal* Trade the excess between the Imports and Exports was always on our side, but more especially since we had no Dealings with *Spain*; inasmuch, that we almost drain'd them of their Silver-Coin, and began to break into their *Modyda's* of Gold. Since he wrote, the great quantities of that Species Currant amongst us hath been taken notice of by every Merchant, every Tradesman, more especially the Refiners; which made an ingenious Person to say, Our Trade to *Portugal* will maintain, nay, enrich our Poor; That with *France*, as stated in the 8th and 9th Articles, will beggar and undo our Gentry: We have in return besides these, Oyls and Dying Commodities, but chiefly *Wines*; for the sake whereof, that they might be admitted into *England*, paying only two thirds of the Customs or Duty payable for French Wine, the King of *Portugal* gave Liberty for the importing Woollen Cloths, and all sorts of Woollen Manufactures of *Great Britain*, in the same manner as us'd to be done before prohibited: Accordingly Articles for this purpose were agreed between Her Majesty and the King of *Portugal*, and signed anno 1703, which we have had both in *Latin* and *English* in several Prints.

Now should the *Wines* of *France*, according to the 8th Article of the *Treaty of Commerce*, be permitted to come in upon paying equal Duty or Custom with those from *Portugal*, then we may bid farewell to this very beneficial Trade; farewell to any further Part or Share in the Mines of *Brazile*; farewell to more than 260000*l. per ann.* that will be sent to *France* of *Brittish* Money, to purchase Her *Wines*; farewell to thrice that Sum, that will be prevented

ted from being brought into *Great-Britain*; farewell in some measure to the Increase of our Navigation, for there is little doubt to be made but the Quantity and Value imported from *France* will exceed the Computation; for the Voyage being short, and fit for small Vessels, and being more agreeable to the generality of *Brittish* Palates, they will be almost the only *Wines* in request, and become the Common Draught in every Tavern, whereby *Portugal* *Wines*, usually brought in larger Ships, navigated with greater Charge, will be excluded; which is evident from the Account of *Wines* imported, laid before the last Parliament; which includes four Years during the prohibition of the French Trade; and the four following Years, when that Prohibition was taken off, which only relates to the Port of *London*, viz.

Years.	Fr. Win. Tons.	Gall.	Portugal Wines, Tons.	Gall.	Spanish Wines, Tons.	Gall.	Rhen. Wines, Tons.	Gall.
1682	nil	nil	13860	201	5448	193	1743	138
1683	nil	65	16772	7	5601	116	1260	192
1684	nil	nil	1611	108	11285	181	1302	163
1685	nil	nil	12185	140	4430	100	1457	174
1686	12760	237	289	59	4193	222	812	101
1687	15518	97	327	26	3562	234	923	91
1688	14218	171	540	205	3251	222	884	191
1689	11109	92	579	220	4650	115	536	193

And this (more than probable) will soon be follow'd with a Prohibition of our Cloths and Woollen Manufactures, which must very sensibly affect the Interest of this Island.

The preventing the Infraction of the Treaty with *Portugal*, and the fatal Consequences attendant thereon, is enough to justify the *House of Commons* for rejecting the Bill of Commerce, in the Judgment of all true Patriots and Lovers of their Country.

The next Particular is *French Linnens*, which I have already consider'd, as they respect that Manufacture in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, therefore am now only to speak of them with respect to the Influence they would have had on the Trades we drive with *Germany* and *Holland*; and that will appear from the following Transcript from Dr. *Davenant*. By a Medium of seven Years, from *Christmas* 1698 to *Christmas* 1705, our Dealings with *Germany* stood thus:

C Ex-

Exports to the value of 838,791 l. } per Ann.
Imports to the value of 677,521 l. }

Difference ---- 161,270 l. per ann. in our favour.

Importations of *Germany* Linnens, by a Medium of three Years, from *Christmas* 1699 to *Christmas* 1702, amounted to per ann. 519,737 l. whereas in *Anno* 1668, to 1669, the Value of Imported Linnens was but 121,682 l. From which this Author observes, that the *Germans* have chang'd their Fabrick of Linnen, especially since the Year 1688, the War then began with *France* having put them upon making a Commodity that might stand in the room of French Linnens.

As to our Trade with *Holland*, *Dr. Davenant* gives an Account of seven Years successively, with the Balance of each Year, viz. from *Christmas* 1698 to *Christmas* 1705, and gives us the Medium both of our Exports and Imports, as follows.

The Medium of the seven Years Exports per ann. is,
l. s. d.
1937,934 : 7 : 11 1/4

The Medium of the seven Years Imports per ann. is,
549,832 : 1 : 2 3/4

Difference in *England's* favour ---- 1388,102 : 6 : 8 1/2

The Value of Linnen Imported *Anno* 1703, amounts to 213,701 l. 19 s. 11 d. which is near two fifths of the whole Importations from *Holland*.

This Account extracted from the old Manuscript, as he observes, doth not include the Out-ports, which would encrease the Article above one fourth part.

He also takes notice of the great Encrease of our *Woollen Manufactures* exported to *Holland*, viz.

Anno 1669, exported ---- 79,953 : 10 : 00
Anno 1703, exported ---- 1339,526 : 00 : 00

Difference --- 1259,572 : 10 : 00

By this we may see with what Reason ignorant Persons among us rail at the *Dutch*, for depriving us of the best Branches of our Trade; as also the Folly of such as appear zealous for Confirming the 8th and 9th Articles of the *Treaty of Commerce*, which would have been so much to the Prejudice of *England's* Interest, in sending yearly an immense Sum to *France*, to purchase Linnens, which we are

are now supply'd with in exchange for our *Woollen* Manufactures.

3. The next Character of a *Bad Trade* is, when we send our Money abroad to purchase Superfluities, and what minister to Luxury and Vanity. Can any Person deny this to have been our Case when there was a Free Trade between *England* and *France*? And, is there not sufficient Reason to have expected it, had the 8th and 9th Articles of the *Treaty of Commerce* been confirm'd? It appears by the Representations that have been laid before the Government, that the Wines and Brandys imported into *England* from *France* cost, at a moderate Estimate, above 300000 l. per annum. And for the sake of such as weekly read the *Mercator*, I shall quote his Review in *Decemb.* 1704, wherein he saith, "That the Gentlemen who have been conyerted into Trade know very well, that the Wines and Brandys of *France* so overpower'd all our Exports thither, that there was no proportion between the Particulars on either side, but that very single Article of Liquids demanded more Money than all our Trade to them could pay for. And in another Review, of the same Month, he asserts, "Tis better for *England* we should drink all Turnip Wine, or any Wine, than that we should drink the best Wine in *Europe*; and go back to *France* for it. But an Author of better credit, viz. *Dr. Davenant*, tells us, That as to Wines and Brandys, in case of a Peace, this luxurious Consumption in all likelihood will lie the heaviest upon the *English*, in their dealings with the *French*, the Use and Expence of them having gradually encreas'd almost every Year, from 1660 downwards. To Wine and Brandy, I may add the great variety of Toys, Fans, Jessamin-Gloves, Gold and Silver-Trimings, Point-Laces, rich embroider'd Garments, Belts, &c. to a very great value, which us'd yearly to be brought from *France*; so that our Trade (in part) hath been the Reverse of that of the *Wise King*, who brought Gold from *Tharsis*, with Apes and Peacocks; But we have sent Gold to *France* to purchase what is of as little value with those Animals, and might as well be spared. It is possible, that change of Fashion and Levity, peculiarly incident to that Nation, may have render'd many of these Superfluities out of date; but few that know the Genius of that Nation, their quickness of Invention, and the proneness of the

English to imitate them, can doubt their being succeeded with others as expensive, and every jot as detrimental to Great-Britain. However, their Wines, their Brandys will not pall our Palates, as long as there is Money in the Nation to procure them.

4. The next Enquiry is, Whether a Trade to France (establish'd on the 8th and 9th Articles of the Treaty of Commerce) both not tend to sink the value of Land, discourage Tillage, and therefore may be denominated Bad and Mischievous? That it would have had such an effect, is plain and evident from the following Considerations.

1. Such a Trade (as hath been already prov'd) will drain from England near a Million per Annum and prevent a greater Sum from being brought into England, which is so far an Impoverishment of the Nation, the natural Consequence whereof is, that there will be fewer Purchasers, and more Sellers: Besides, Scarcity of Money (which will soon be the effect of a French Trade) advances Interest, and the higher that is, the fewer Years purchase Land will be worth: This is confirm'd by Reason and the Experience of Mankind every where.

2. Such a Trade will, in the highest degree, be Injurious to those two noble Branches of our Trade, the Woollen and Silk Manufactures, which depend on one another, by obstructing the Exportation of the One, and ruining the Other by French Importations; by which means Wool will become a Drugg, which hath always been esteem'd a considerable Article to enable Tenants to pay their Rents.

3. The Discouragement of these Manufactures will increase the numbers of Poor, which will require additional Assessment for their Maintenance; and altho' these Rates are Charges on personal Estates, as well as Lands, yet there is no doubt, that whatsoever affects the Farmers or Graziers Stock will not be forgot by them as often as Leases are renewed, or Contracts made to insist on proportionable Abatements of Rent: Besides, by the increase of Poor, their Markets will be prejudic'd with respect to Provisions; there will be less consumption of Meat, of Butter and Cheese, &c. for Poverty will necessitate Persons to retrench the Charges of their Families; and by degrees reduce them to French fare, as Herbs, Roots, and Cabbage; to Barly-bread, or that made of Millet, or the worst of Corn.

4. Lands

4. Lands will be particularly affected by the Importation of French Brandys, for this will ruin the Trade of our Distillers, who now expend 80000 quarters of Malt yearly, in making English Spirits. But for further satisfaction herein, I refer you to an ingenious *Writer, who, from several Topicks and rational Calculations, computes, That the confirming the Bill for making effectual the 8th and 9th Articles of the Treaty of Commerce, would have impaired the Lands of England in the annual value of 1,333,000 l. had not therefore the Parliament, which consist chiefly of Men of real Estates, consulted their own, as well as the Nations Interest and Prosperity, in rejecting the Bill.

5. The last Character of a Bad Trade mention'd, was, when it tends to enrich and make more formidable a Foreign Prince, an Ambitious Neighbour, who, upon all occasions, hath appeared to be an Enemy to the Trade, the Constitution and Religion of the Nation traded with.

That a Free Trade to France (upon the foot of the Articles of Commerce) will be very advantageous to that Kingdom, cannot with reason be deny'd, since the Balance, which may be estimated at a Million of pounds Sterling in her Favour, must be paid by us in ready Money: Nor is it unknown, that his present Majesty hath been for many years aiming at the universal Monarchy of the West. The many Steps taken, and Advances made for that purpose, I refer to the Archbishop of Dublin's Thanksgiving Sermon. Nor is it less evident how industrious he hath been to promote Navigation, Commerce, and the Woollen and Silk Manufactures within his Dominions; at the same time using many Artifices to discourage the Trade and Manufactures of England: And that (as an ingenious Person expresses it) by Duties of Importation, Duties on Consumptions, Tolls from one Province to another; by strict Visitations, Restraints and Prohibitions, and by the Example of the Court in wearing their own Manufactures. France hath ever since anno 1643, been encreasing the Duties on our Woollen Goods. At Bourdeaux, and other places a Custom of near six per cent. is taken of English, more than from

* Vid. The Consequences of a Law for reducing French Wines, &c. † Nov. 16. 1690. before the Lords Justices of Ireland. || Maxims of TRADE.

from the Subjects of *France*: The Duty of 50 *Sols per Ton* hath been exacted more than once in one Voyage, at *Mor-laix* and other Ports, * contrary to their Charter-party. English Masters of Ships have been oblig'd to take in Frenchmens Goods equally, sometimes preferable to their own, or else delay'd and not suffer'd to lade in favour of French Vessels, that they might have the precedency of Freight, and the Market: English Ships, when forced into Port by stress of Weather, or otherwise, have been forced to pay the Customs, or give Security for the Payment thereof, when bound to other Ports: English Ships, as to some particular Species of Merchandizes, confin'd to unload at inconvenient Harbours: English Merchants, residing in *France*, debarr'd (by great Penalties) to buy or sell either for their own accounts, or by Commission as Factors; whereby English Merchants cannot send over to *France* their Apprentices to transact their Affairs, but must hazard their Estates, by putting them into the hands of French Factors: English Drapery often visited, and on pretext of ancient Laws, thrown into the Water, and render'd unfit for Sale. In many Places of *France* extraordinary personal Taxes have been charged on the *English*, and one Man's Goods seiz'd to pay the Taxes of the rest. One English Man, altho' unconcerned, hath been deny'd to be Evidence for another; which is a thing contrary to the practice of all the Courts of Justice in *England*. By these, and such like Artifices have our Trade and Manufactures been discourag'd. Great Reason, therefore, had Dr. *Davenant* to say, "That the *French* have dealt with us as if they thought the Genius of *France* had got a perfect Mastery over the Genius of *England*, otherwise they would not have so imposed upon us in matters of this nature; which, tho' our Court would not see, the People must needs feel; and where the Legislature was certain to be alarm'd, and at last to interpolate.

What kindness *France* hath for our Constitution and Religion was evident, when that the English Monarchy was overturn'd by *Cromwel* and his Partisans. My Lord *Clarendon* (vol. 3. p. 5.) informs us, that the French were active

* *Vid.* The Report of 14 eminent Merchants laid before the Lords Commissioners appointed for the Treaty of Commerce with *France*, Novemb. 29. 1674.

active in blowing the Fire; that the Commotions in *Scotland* were rais'd by the Encouragement, if not the Contrivance of Cardinal *Richelieu*; and after the Murther of the Father, the Children fled to *France*, and there lived in exile until forced thence; during which time the same noble Historian tells us, (vol. 3. p. 26.) That it can hardly be believ'd with how little respect they were treated. After the Restoration (when K. *Charles* the 2d, in Alliance with *France*, proclaim'd War against *Holland*, and our Fleet, with that of *France*, preparing to engage theirs) it is remarkable, that there was in the day of Battel but one Captain, whose Name I do not remember, that assisted us, the rest of the French Fleet contenting themselves to be Spectators of the Engagement, pleas'd to see us batter and destroy one-another; in which there is little doubt to be made, but that they follow'd Orders, because that Captain who signaliz'd himself, was at his return clapt in the *Bastile*.

When *France* proclaim'd a supposititious Prince King of Her Majesty's Dominions, and sent him with Men and a Navy to take possession, is fresh in Memory: As is also that just Indignation the Lords express'd in their Address to the Queen at the dishonourable Treatment of Her Majesty by *France*, in having propos'd to acknowledge Her Majesty's Title to these Realms no sooner than when the *Peace shall be sign'd: To which I shall add those memorable Words of our most Gracious Sovereign to Her Parliament, 1703. *I must be so plain as to tell you, The best Proofs we can all give at present of our Zeal for the Preservation of the Church, will be to joyn heartily in prosecuting the War against an Enemy, who is certainly engag'd to extirpate our Religion, as well as to reduce this Kingdom to Slavery: I am fully resolv'd (by God's assistance) to do my part.* But since there is Peace proclaim'd, I shall pursue this Subject no further, leaving it to the Reflections of every good Patriot, and lover of the Queen, to consider what force there is in the Argument to endeavour to preserve our Trade, our Constitution, our Religion, and to justify the Parliament for rejecting the Bill.

4. I proceed in the next place to make some Remarks on the Articles of the Treaty of Commerce, and shew the Policy of *France* in the framing thereof. The

* *Annals of Queen ANN, Vol. X. p. 357.*

The French King, by a Decree of his Council of State, of the 26th of *October* 1686, forbade the Sale of all *Calico's* printed in *East-India*, or in the Kingdom; and other *India-Silks*, and *Stuffs* flower'd with Gold and Silver, by reason they occasion'd the Transporting many Millions, and also diminish'd the Manufactures of old establish'd in *France*, to the Ruin and Destruction of the working People, who by want of Work, having no Occupation or Subsistence for their Families, are gone out of the Kingdom; and those that were found in Warehouses and Shops after the last day of *December* 1687, to be burnt, and the Proprietors subjected to a fine of 3000 Livres.

By another Edict, of the 6th of *September* 1701, he forbade all English Traders and English Ships, whether commanded by English or Foreigners, to bring into the Kingdom other Merchandizes than such as were of the Growth, or manufactur'd with the Materials of the Growth of *England*, upon the Penalty of having Ships and Goods confiscated, and the Importer to pay 3000 Livres.

By a later Arret of the Council of State, of the 27th of *August* 1709, all Persons, of what Quality or Condition soever, were forbidden to buy or sell any *Indian*, *China*, or *Levant* Stuffs; as well those wholly made of Silk, or mix'd with Gold and Silver and Bark of Trees, Wool-thread, or Cotton, and all other sorts of Stuffs of the Growth and Manufacture of the said Countries, on forfeiture of the same, and 3000 Livres for every Offence. He forbids also the buying or selling any *Muslins*, Cotton Cloth of the *Indies*, *China*, or the *Levant*; and the *East-India*, and all other Companies, are forbidden, upon any pretence whatsoever, to import into the Kingdom any the said Stuffs and Cloth. He further forbids all Persons, of what Sex, Quality, or Condition soever, from the Day of publication, to wear, use, or cause to be made, any Suit, Garment, or Household Furniture of the said Stuffs and Cloth; Husbands and Fathers of Families to be answerable for the Penalties to which their Wives and Children should be condemn'd. This Arret is order'd to be publish'd twice a year; and it is register'd among the Acts of the Council of State, that this Ordinance was read and publish'd as usual the 11th of *March* 1713, by *Mark Antoine Pasquier*.

According to these Edicts 'tis evident, we cannot export into *France* any *East-India*, *Turkey*, or *Plantation Goods*,

nor

nor any Cloths or Stuffs mix'd with *Spanish Wool*, or *Fish*, if not cured with *English Salt*. How far these would have been repeal'd if the Articles of the *Treaty of Commerce* had been confirm'd, and what Advantage the Trade of *Great Britain* was likely to receive thereby, is what I come directly to consider.

By the 9th Article of the Treaty it is provided, That no more Customs or Duties be paid for Goods or Merchandizes, *à Gallia in Magnam Britanniam deportatis*, brought from *France* to *Great Britain*, than what are payable for Goods and Merchandizes of the like nature imported into *Great Britain* from any other Country in *Europe*: And, That all Laws made in *Great Britain* since the Year 1664, for prohibiting the Importation of any Goods and Merchandizes *à Gallia Venientium*, coming from *France*, which were not prohibited before that time, be repeal'd. The general Tariff, made in *France* the 18th Day of *September*, 1664, shall take place there again, and the Duties payable in *France* by the Subjects of *Great Britain*, for Goods imported and exported, shall be paid according to the Tenour of the Tariff above-mention'd, and shall not exceed the Rule therein settled, in the Provinces whereof mention is there made; and in the other Provinces the Duty shall not be payable, otherwise than according to the Rule at that time prescrib'd: And all *Prohibitions*, *Tariffs*, *Edicts*, *Declarations* or *Decrees*, made in *France* since the said Tariff of the Year 1664, and contrary thereunto, *quoad Bona Mercesque Magnae Britanniae*, in respect to the Goods and Merchandizes of *Great Britain*, shall be Repeal'd.

By this Article, if the *Bill of Commerce* had pass'd, all sorts of Goods brought from *France*, not prohibited before 1664, had been permitted, paying the same Duties and Customs as are paid for Goods and Merchandizes of the like nature imported into *Great Britain* from any other Country in *Europe*: But the same Favour and Liberty is not granted to the Merchants of *Great Britain* with reference to what they may be inclin'd to export to *France*; for there appears to be a Restriction on the latter, as the Article is worded. For,

1. Whereas several of the other Articles relating to both Kingdoms are penn'd in the same words *mutatis mutandis*, in this there is a considerable variation: As to one, it in-

D cludes

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cludes a Liberty for *all Goods* coming from *France*, as well those as have been imported, as those of the Growth and Product thereof: But as to the other, 'tis limited, extending only to the Goods and Merchandizes of *Great Britain*; which, there's little doubt to be made, will be construed by the Court at *Versailles* in favour of his Edicts, to include only such Goods and Merchandizes as are of the Growth and Product of *Great Britain*. For,

2. The Goods and Merchandizes that are the Growth and Product of a particular Nation, to whatsoever Place exported, do retain the Name of that Country from whence they had their original; as we call those Goods *Indian, French, Spanish, Italian, &c.* that were the Growth and Product of those Places; and that after several Re-exports from one Kingdom to another.

3. There's a great difference between saying, *The Goods and Merchandizes of Her Majesties Subjects of Great Britain*, or *Goods and Merchandizes coming from Great Britain*, and saying, *The Goods and Merchandizes of Great Britain*: The first respects Persons as the Proprietors, the second respects the Place from whence immediately exported, altho' first imported therein from abroad; the last respects the Place of which they are the Growth and Product. And this is the natural and genuine meaning of the Phrase, and is so understood in common Discourse between Merchants and Traders.

4. 'Tis plain the *Parliament* were sensible hereof, and therefore in the *Bill of Commerce* added a Clause, That "this part of the Treaty should be intended to extend not only to the Goods of the Growth, Product, and Manufacture of *Great Britain*, but likewise to all Goods and Merchandizes which the Subjects of *Great Britain* did, or might import into, or export from *France* at any time since the making the said Tariff of *September, 1664*. But 'tis easie to conjecture which would have been esteemed of greatest authority in *France*, a Clause enacted by a *British* Parliament, or an Arret made by his Majesty's Council of State.

5. That this Article was understood in this restrictive sense by the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, is plain; in that this Article, (as was asserted at the Bar of the *Lords House*) when first projected, ran thus, *viz.* "All Prohibitions, Tariffs, Edicts, Declarations, and Decrees, made in *France* since

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"since the said Tariff of 1664, should be null'd and set aside. But this would not be consented unto; whereby 'tis pretty evident, that it was the Design of *France* to preserve the Force and Authority of the several Edicts and Decrees made in favour of their Trade: for 'tis stipulated in the 5th Article, "That the Laws and Statutes of each Kingdom shall remain in full force, and shall be duly put in execution, whether they relate to *Commerce* and *Navigation*, or to any other Right, those Cases only excepted concerning which 'tis otherways determin'd in the Articles of this present Treaty.

6. By this 9th Article it appears there were Duties on Goods imported and exported, payable in several Provinces of *France*, which were not mention'd in the Tariff of 1664, which would be preserv'd by this Treaty. There was, as the Author of the *Account of Political Affairs* for the Month of *June* last relates, a Motion made in the *House of Commons* the 6th of that Month, for an Address to be presented to Her Majesty, That She would be pleas'd to direct an Account to be laid before the House, of the Rule mention'd in this Article of the *Treaty of Commerce*, for the payment of Duties in Provinces not contain'd in the Tariff of 1664; and the previous Question being put, That *that* Question be now put, it pass'd in the Negative.

7. Had the 8th and 9th Articles of the *Treaty of Commerce* been ratified, *France* had been immediately stated in all the Benefits and Advantages thereof; their Wines and their Brandys, their Silks, their Linnens, and their Paper, would have come in like a Torrent upon us, but *England* must have waited two Months before She could reap any Benefit by her Exports thither; and, after that, the adjustment of Commissaries, to meet at *London*, before our Cloths and our Stuffs, our Fish and our Sugars, could be sent to *France*; for the high Duties of 1699, to which they would have been left subjected by the Treaty, is in effect a *Prohibition*: And, until then, the Articles of this Treaty were to remain in their full force.

And 'tis observable, that it is the Interest of *France* that these Goods and Merchandizes, excepted out of the general Tariff of 1664, should remain as they are. And as to the Nine Heads of Matters propos'd on the part of *Great Britain*, Five of 'em seem equally to respect both Nations, and may without much difficulty be settled; but the other

Four, which chiefly respect the Benefit of *England*, little reason is there to expect they will be granted, unless there had other Matters, of equal importance to *France*, been likewise left to their discussion, *Sic notus Ulysses*.

But, to silence the Advocates for the 8th and 9th Articles of the *Treaty of Commerce*, and, if possible, to set things in a yet clearer light, I shall take a short Survey of the Commodities excepted out of the General Tariff of 1664, especially three, (for I think the fourth will not much affect Us) *viz.* Woollen Manufactures, Sugars, and Fish.

1. As to *Our Woollen Manufactures*, which is so great an Article in our foreign Trade, What can we expect to export to *France*, since she is so much of late years improv'd in the making thereof, and so high a Duty agreed to continue thereon, which is 40 Livres for every Piece, or 2 s. a Yard, (at present the Duty is much higher, *viz.* 57 Livres 10 Sols) should the French be so good-natur'd as to condescend to abate 17 Livres 10 Sols on each Piece of Cloth, which is referr'd to *Commissioners* to debate. Besides, there is an Arret of Council, made the 23d of *October*, 1703, for encouraging the sending Bays and Perpetts to *Italy*, that no more than 30 Sols upon an hundred pound weight shall be paid upon Exportation.

Our Woollen Manufacture is above One third of the general Exports of *England*; for, according to *Dr. Davenant's* Calculation, from 1699, a Year before the Subsidy Duties were taken off, and so less liable to the suspicion of false and over-Enteries, he makes the Account stand thus:

The General Exports for that Year are valued at,

l. s. d.
6,788,166 : 17 : 6 1/4

Whereof the *Woollen Manufacture* for 1699 are valued at
2,932,292 : 17 : 6 1/4

The whole Amount of our *Woollen Manufacture* exported to *France* that Year was 17,269 l. and the last Year of the short interval of Peace there was only 1,580 l. 6 s. 9 d. of which there was no more than 182 l. 10 s. of long Spanish and short Cloths exported: By which 'tis evident we have no reason to expect any Advantage, with respect to our *Woollen Manufactures*, from a Free Commerce with that Kingdom. If we consider how great an Article they are in our Universal Exports to other Places, which must necessarily be diminish'd by the admission of *French Wines* and

and Linnen, I may justly conclude this Head with the words of the Author last mention'd, "It is not necessary to urge any other Arguments to prove how much it concerns *England* to be jealous in this Point, and watchful over this Staple, wherein any considerable Decay would affect the whole Body of the People."

2. Another of the excepted Species is *Refined Sugar*, in Loaf or in Powder, white and brown *Sugarcandy*, which are to pay according to the Tariff of 1699, until otherwise determin'd by *Commissioners*. This Duty being 4 d. per pound, is in effect a Prohibition, so that *M. Mesnager* need be under no Apprehension with respect to his Sugar-Houses; *France* hath taken care of them and her own Colonies. I doubt little Favour can be expected herein, since the early Application of our *West-India* Merchants to the *Lords Commissioners for Trade* could not obtain a more acceptable Conclusion.

3. The last particular I mention'd, was *Fish*; with which we formerly served the greatest part of *Europe*: Some Prints mention 200 Sail of Ships sent by us yearly to *Newfoundland*; but of this they will have no need to take of us; for, as a late Writer observes, if they have *Cape-Breton*, with liberty of drying their Fish on our Island of *Newfoundland*, they will not only furnish *France*, but also *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*; for by their Situation, being on both sides of us, they will have their Fish ready before us. The Preamble of the Act made in the 10th and 11th Year of the Reign of King *William* the 3d, shews us what thoughts the Legislature had of our *Newfoundland* Trade; in which are these Words: *Whereas the Trade of Fishing at Newfoundland is a beneficial Trade to this Kingdom, not only in imploying great numbers of Seamen and Ships, and exporting and consuming great quantities of Provisions and Manufactures of this Realm, whereby many Tradesmen and poor Artificers are kept at work, but also by bringing into this Nation, by Returns of the Effects of the said Fishery from other Countries, great quantities of Wine, Oyl, Plate, Iron, Wooll, and sundry other useful Commodities, to the encrease of His Majesty's Revenue, and the encouragement of Trade and Navigation; Be it enacted,----- That no Alien or Stranger whatsoever (not residing within the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, or Town of Berwick upon Tweed) shall at any time hereafter take any Bait, or use*

any sort of Trade, or buying whatsoever in Newfoundland, or in any of the said Islands or Places abovemention'd. How far the late Treaty interferes herewith, is not my business to enquire; what I am considering, are the Articles of Commerce.

These tell us, that Salt-fish (in Barrels only) is to be exported into France, and at all places of Entrance into the Kingdom, Countries, and Territories under the Dominion of that King, even at all Free-ports the Duties of Landing and of Consumption shall be paid, which were appointed before the Tariff of 1664; and besides 40 Livres per Last, consisting of 12 Barrels (weighing each 300 l.) for the Duty of Entry; which Entry shall not be permitted, but by St. Valery upon the Somme, Rouen, Nants, Libourn, and Bourdeaux; and shall remain prohibited at all other Harbours or Ports, as well in the Ocean as in the Mediterranean.

I shall not insist on the Arrifice in confining them to five Ports only; some of them not very convenient, the very Duty is sufficient to prevent their Importation, and we must be forced to seek some other Markets for our Herrings, our Pilchards, and our Salmon.

Another momentous Branch of our Trade, and the product of our Plantations, is Tobacco; this was not forgot in the Treaty of Commerce, for in the 10th Article, which runs thus; *The Duties on Tobacco, imported into France, either in the Leaf or prepared, shall be reduced hereafter to the same moderate Rate as the said Tobacco of the Growth of any Country in Europe or America, being brought into France, does, or shall pay.* All the seeming advantages of this Article is render'd insignificant by inserting the Adverb *hereafter*; for when that is to commence, is a secret in the French King's Breast. This is, indeed, one of the nine Heads propos'd on the part of Great Britain to be refer'd to Commissioners; but as long as there is not (as hath been observ'd) one thing in all the nine propos'd, wherein France is equally desirous to be gratified by Concessions to be made by the Commissioners to be appointed by Her Britannick Majesty, we have little reason to expect any Favour in behalf of Tobacco. This is, indeed, a very great Article in our Foreign Exportations, and challenges a particular Regard in this Negotiation with France: For the want of it (as Dr. Davenant observes) will be found in the
general

general Balance of our Trade with other Countries: For by a Medium of 10 Years, viz, from Christmas 1699, to Christmas 1709, there was re-exported, by Certificate, 17,598,007 l. weight per ann. And the same Author adds, "If the high Duties, and other Discouragements, should bring our West-Indian Colonies to lay aside in any great degree planting Tobacco, they must for a livelihood turn their Labour and Land to some other Uses very prejudicial to their Mother-Kingdom."

If Persons would without Prejudice consider, that by this Treaty of Commerce our Woollen Manufacture, our Fish, our Sugars, and our Tobacco will be almost as effectually debarr'd from being sent to France, as if they had been expressly prohibited: That our East-India, our Turkey, and other Foreign Goods could not be exported to France, by reason of several severe Edicts and Arrrets of Council of State, that would have remain'd in force against them had the 9th Article been confirm'd. Would they further consider, that if the Bill of Commerce had pass'd into a Law, a Door had been open'd for their Wines, their Brandys, their Linnens and their Silks to have come in upon us: If Persons would but consider, that the former must be a great decrease of our Exportations to France, and fix upon 1685, according to the Scheme laid before the last Sessions of Parliament, as also, that our Importations from France are as likely to be as great now as then, they will find the Balance will rise much higher than a Million Sterling per ann. Might these things but be sedately reflected on, certainly there would be such Ideas impressed in Men's Minds, and such an Aversion created in the Hearts of the Intelligent part of the Nation, against such a Commerce, as will render any future Attempts (if any should be made) unsuccessful in a British Parliament.

What was the Equivalent granted for Dunkirk, becomes not me to enquire, since it was an Arcanum of State, reserv'd from the Knowledge of the Parliament, desiring to be informed thereof; but many are apt to think, that were not this Treaty of Commerce otherways to be obtained, and could the continuance thereof for 21 years be thereby secured, not only the Demolition of Dunkirk would have been granted, but also the insisting on the Restitution of the City of Lisle receded from; for in half that time there would have been too much reason given
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the French Monarch to flatter himself, that the Advantages would prove so many and so great, that with the Profit and Assistance thereof he might be enabled either to Purchase, or to Conquer a better Harbour, a better City somewhere in *Europe*.

It confirms me in the ill Opinion I had of the *Bill of Commerce*, when first brought into the House, that it was Rejected by that very *House of Commons* who had signaliz'd their Zeal, and went the utmost Lengths to gratify the Court in whatsoever it desir'd of 'em, and no doubt had in this too, had they not esteem'd it inconsistent with the Honour of the Queen, the Safety and Interest of their Country. This was no Party-Cause, but what equally concern'd all true Patriots of the Nation, of whatsoever denomination. Debates were manag'd, Matters discuss'd, with Arguments of Reason founded on Facts undeniable: And to these was owing the Issue of that remarkable Day that preserv'd *Our Trade, Our Manufactures* from the most fatal Stab that was ever offer'd them! Which Deliverance was celebrated with Bonfires, Illuminations, accompany'd with Shouts and Acclamations of Joy, in many places in and about the City of *London*. What Nobleman, what Gentleman, that hath Lands to improve and transmit to his Posterity; what Wiseman, what Goodman, that would serve his Country, and keep his Conscience inviolate, that would have his Reputation survive his Ashes, can refuse to assist in such a Cause, to secure that Barrier which so many Parliaments, renowned for their Loyalty, Wisdom and Firmness to the true *English Interest*, have fix'd to guard *Our Trade, Our Manufactures*, from the Artifices and Attempts of *France*? And may *England* never want such Wise Senators to keep open those Canals, thro' which have flow'd from abroad an immense value of Gold and Silver to enrich Her *Exchequer*; and (after that the *Royal Image* hath been stamp'd thereon) to fix it here, and prevent its being carry'd abroad, and converted into French Crowns and Pistoles.

If Artists, Tradesmen, and Merchants are proper Judges of their Interest, and what doth either promote or injure it, with reference to the several Manufactures, Trades and Professions which they have been bred up to, and for a long time practis'd, (more especially if there be a very general Concurrence and Agreement in their Sentiments)

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we may then conclude, that Passing the *Bill of Commerce* had been very prejudicial to the Trade and Manufactures of *England*: For, the numerous Petitions and Applications of the *Levant Company, Portugal and Italian Merchants, Clothiers, Weavers, Throwsters, Dyers, Distillers, Wyredrawers, &c.* from divers parts of the Nation, and the Crouds every Day attending at the Lobby of the House, endeavouring to prevent Passing the Bill, (not any one Petition from any Society, Corporation, or Person whatsoever, appearing for the Bill) sufficiently evidence their Judgment thereof.

If any Person shall ask, *If the Arguments were so strong and convincing as I have represented them to be, against the Bill, how came it to pass that the Bill was not rejected by a greater Majority?*

All I shall at present reply hereunto is, That in *St. Stephen's Chapel* are a great many young Gentlemen, and others of an advanc'd age, whose Education and Studies have little acquainted them with the Affairs of Trade and Merchandizing; and whose often Absence when Debates of Trade was the Business of the Day, kept them from being duly inform'd therein, and in the dark. Others, who having a kind Regard for the Good of their Native Country, too apt to conclude that others acted with the same Candour and Sincerity, were thereby induced with an implicit Faith to Vote with them, upon the account of their having greater Advantages of knowing the Affairs of Trade; but, alas! Men are often mov'd by secret Springs actuated by private Views and Expectances, contrary to the Interest of their Country, and their own Judgments.

We need not add more if we do but consider, that whatsoever hath the Favour of the Court will never want Numbers, but when the Proposal is inconsistent with the Safety, Honour, and Prosperity of *Great Britain*.

Could Persons be perswaded to look back, and review what was in past time the state and posture of our Trade and Manufactures; when French Silks being prohibited, the Humor of the Nation ran a madding after *East-Indian Silks*, they must see abundant Reason to justify the Parliament in Rejecting the *Bill of Commerce*: These were bought for Garments, for Coaches, and Furniture of Houses, by the Nobility, Gentry, Merchants, Citizens, and others. Many thousand Pieces have I seen together expos'd to view (for sale) of various sorts of *Damasks*, and

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other Silks; their Qualities, Figures, and Colours very much improv'd, thro' the help of Artists, Dyers, and Patterns sent from hence: Our Manufacturers were soon sensible of the sad Effects hereof, nine parts in ten of the *Looms* in *Canterbury* unemploy'd; many Streets in *Spittle-fields* for the most part uninhabited; *Norwich*, *Bristol*, and several Clothing Towns, distress'd for want of Work; several Artists left the Kingdom; Poverty, with all its Consequences, visible throughout the Nation; Parents starving, Children crying for want of Bread; others murmuring because of advanc'd Assessments! Upon the Sitting of the Parliament, numerous Petitions from the *Clothiers*, and other *Woollen* and *Silk Manufacturers*, were presented, craving their Consideration and Redress; that August Assembly, sensible of the Justness and Importance of their Complaints, order'd a Bill for restraining *Indian Silks*; this was strenuously oppos'd by such as grew rich at the Nation's cost, Mercenary Pens were hir'd to write, learned Lawyers fee'd to plead against it, but plain and illiterate Weavers, at the Bar of both Houses, baffled all their Oratory with Reason and Argument; so that the Bill pass'd, and obtain'd the Royal Assent.

'Twas surprizing at that day, to behold how quickly the Scene chang'd; the Disconsolate soon forgot their Sorrows, it was a Cordial that strangely reviv'd the Spirits of the Desponding; Persons return'd from their Retirements, every Day affording new Instances of the Ingenuity of the English Artists whilst encourag'd, so that there's no Merchant, no Tradesman, insensible of the Improvements made in our Manufactures since that Day. To this Act is chiefly owing the prosp'rous state of the *Levant* and *Italian Trades*. Methinks past Experience should make us wise, and cautious lest the propos'd Articles should involve us again in the same Perplexities: Would not as great, or greater, quantities of Silk (besides Linnen) Manufactures equally opposite to our own, equally coveted by our Ladies with those from *India*, be imported from *France*? And can we be in doubt whether the same Cause will not produce the same Effect? Yea, better it is to give Liberty to *Indian Silks* to be imported and us'd as formerly, than to those of *France*.

1. Because our Weavers can better guard against *Indian* than *French Silks*, Importations will not be so frequent, the time

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time of the returns of Ships from thence generally known, but the Voyage to *France* is short, and French Silks will be the expectation of every Day.

2. The present Duties on the former would enable Our Weavers to sell as cheap as such could be afforded at the Candle; whereas those from *France* will be admitted, on passing the Bill, upon cheaper terms.

3. Considering the great Improvement of the Silk Manufacture in several Species, few of which ever came from *India*, and that those which we may expect from *France* will directly interfere herewith, therefore the more pernicious will their admission be.

4. Our Weavers usually made in Winter many rich *Silks* and *Brocades* for a Spring Trade, which at that time of the Year was a considerable benefit to the *Poorer sort*, and also to the *Wyredrawers*; but whenever Liberty shall be given for their Importation from *France*, She will be the Standard of the Fashion, and consequently the Risques and Hazards our Weavers must run, will deter them from making such early Preparations.

I shall only mention two Arguments more, which alone are sufficient to vindicate the last Parliament from all the Aspersions that have been cast on them for rejecting the *Bill of Commerce*; the first is from the Obligations they were under to Reject the Bill; the second was, the Dangers that were in view if they had Pass'd it.

1. Let us consider the Obligations that lay on them to Reject the Bill. The *House of Commons* are call'd by the Queen's Writ, to assist Her with their Counsel in Affairs of the greatest weight and importance; They are Guardians of the Liberties and Trade of *Great Britain*, and are to consult the Safety, Honour, and Prosperity thereof; therefore, as Dr. *Davenant* well observes, "When we find our Neighbours enterprising, vigilant, and jealous in what ever has relation to their Trade; and when we observe 'em still endeavouring to get ground, and never yielding any Point to us, but forming long Schemes calculated to take effect many years to come, in order to enlarge themselves at our expence, 'twill become good Patriots to look about 'em, and to take care, lest in time *England* should be in a manner excluded the *Commercial World*."

The Author of the *Letter to a West-Country Clothier* tells us, That M. *Mesnager* offer'd the *Portugal Ministers* at

Direct a Plan of a *Treaty of Commerce* very advantageous with reference to their *Tobacco's* and *Sugars*, and many Arguments were used to induce them to embrace it. One of 'em is so very extraordinary, that I had rather you should be inform'd from him, than from my Pen.

The very Apprehension lest the 8th and 9th Articles of the *Treaty of Commerce* should be ratified, as the same Author truly observes, put all Business to a stand; and that Deadness of Trade, which is so sensibly felt at present, is occasion'd by the Fear that possesses Mens minds, that the Attempt will be renew'd: For, what Part of the World can a Merchant trade to, whilst Things are in this fluctuation and uncertainty? He can't make Provision for the *Portugal Trade*, or large Contracts for their Wines, for fear of having *Our Woollen Manufactures* prohibited there, and their *Wines* a Drug here, in case the Duty on French Wines should be plac'd on an equal foot with 'em. And this is the state of *Our Trade* with reference to *Other Nations*.

I might here shew what Care former Parliaments have taken of our Trade: *Our Woollen Manufactures* have thro' many Ages, from *Edw.* the 3d's time even to this day, been guarded and encourag'd by numerous Acts of Parliament; many Acts have been made to prevent the Exportation of *Wool*, many made for regulating the making Cloths, and to prevent Frauds and Abuses therein, in order to keep up their Reputation abroad. When prohibited by the Duke of *Burgundy*, an Act was presently made, in the 4th Year of *Edw.* IV, to forbid all Merchandizes of the Growth and Workmanship of all Countries subject to that Duke, from being brought into *England*, until his Proclamation was revok'd. Our *Silk Manufactures* are of a later date, being inconsiderable before the Restoration, but thro' the Care and Favour of Parliaments, have wonderfully increas'd and flourish'd. And these two great Branches of our Trade mutually depend on and advance one another.

In the days of *Q. Eliz.* the Greatness of the House of *Austria* alarm'd *Europe*, but succeeding Reigns, and long Intervals of Parliament, particularly the Government in the days of *Ufurpation*, gave Opportunity to the House of *Bourbon* to advance in Power, which the Supineness of a voluptuous Prince, upon what view I know not, contributed very much unto; he tamely suffer'd, for some years, the French King to load *our Goods* with new Impositions, with-

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out Retaliation, until our Merchants and Manufacturers feeling the Effects thereof, and Jealous lest the Commerce of *England* should be ruined, solicited the Parliament for Relief, whereupon several Estimates were taken and laid before them, who startled at the excessive Balance that appear'd in *France's* Favour, passed an Act of Prohibition in the 29th and 30th year of *K. Charles* the 2d; wherein are these Words: *Whereas it hath been by so long Experience found, that the Importation of French Wines, Brandies, Linnen, Silks, Salt, and Paper, and other Commodities of the Growth, Product or Manufacture of the Territories and Dominions of the French King, hath much exhausted the Treasure of this Nation, lessened the value of the Native Commodities and Manufactures thereof, and caused great detriment to this Kingdom in general; Be it Enacted, &c.* This Parliament (little favourable to Dissenters) were so Jealous of the Power of *France*, that, *ann.* 1676, upon that King's Acquisitions in the *Spanish Netherlands*, they address'd *King Charles* the 2d; That he would conclude no Treaty with *France* whereby the French King should be left in Possession of any greater Power or Dominion than was left him by the *Pyrenean Treaty*.

It must, indeed, be acknowledg'd, that all the Clauses in that Act relating to the Prohibition of the said Commodities, were repealed, by an Act for that purpose, in the second year of *K. James* the 2d; but it is to be consider'd, this was a Reign not unfavourable to the Interest of *France*, in which *Papists* were in expectation of having the Northern Heresy extirpated: But after the happy Revolution, in the beginning of the Reign of *K. William* and *Q. Mary*, new Acts of Prohibition were made, and additional Impositions laid on such Goods of the Product of *France*, as were injurious to the Interest of *England*. In the 10th and 11th year of *K. William*, a further Act was made to prevent the Exportation of *Wool* from *Ireland* and *England*; in the Preamble thereof are these remarkable Words: *Forasmuch as Wool and Woollen Manufactures of Cloth, Serges, Bays, Kerseys, and others made or mixed with Wool, are the greatest and most profitable Commodities of this Kingdom, on which the value of Lands, and the Trade of the Nation do chiefly depend.*

Agreeable hereunto, *King William*, *anno* 1701, recommends to the Parliament the Regulation and Improvement

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of our Trade, as that which was of so publick a Concern, as, that he hop'd it would ever have their serious Thoughts; adding, "that if they could find proper Means of setting the
 " Poor at work, they would ease themselves of a very great
 " Burthen, and at the same time add many useful Hands to
 " be employ'd in Manufactures, and other public Occasions.

This is more than sufficient to shew, that to preserve and encrease the Trade of the Nation, is a great part of the Trust repos'd in the Commons of *England*, and which they have always thought themselves oblig'd faithfully to discharge, and in pursuance hereof, Rejected the *Bill of Commerce*; for which they have merited the Esteem and Thanks of all that heartily and sincerely wish the Prosperity of *Great Britain*, and the Trade thereof.

This Argument may be enforced from the consideration of the Time, and circumstances of Affairs when this *Bill* was proposed. We have been engag'd in a long and expensive War; and, to use the Words of the Doctor so often mention'd, "As the War has alter'd the Channel of
 " Trade in most Countries, so the Superiority the Queens
 " Arms have had in this sharp Dispute, has plac'd Her
 " Majesty in a higher and more glorious Condition of treating with other Countries than Her Predecessors have
 " been; and as her Power governs the Peace, so it will be
 " able to dictate the Articles and Terms on which it is to
 " be founded. Can any Person then justly censure the great Senate, that would not suffer the Advantages that many Glorious Campaigns have put into Her Majesty's Power of securing and enlarging our Traffick, of encreasing our Riches, of establishing our Safety, to be defeated; nor the Glory acquired at *Blenheim*, at *Ramelies*, at *Oudenard*, &c. to be tarnished, by giving an Opportunity to the French King, by a dishonourable and artificial *Treaty of Commerce*, to recruit that Strength, to regain that Power which was so much exhausted and impaired in Great ANNA's Reign?

2. The last Argument I shall make use of to justify the late *House of Commons*, is the Dangers they could not but have in view with reference to the Protestant Succession in the illustrious House of *Hannover*, if the *Bill* had pass'd. It must be acknowledg'd, that there never appeared greater numbers of Papists, with Priests and Jesuits amongst them, nor greater instances of their Insolence, since the time King
Charles

Charles the First (except the short Reign of *James* the 2d) admitted a Popish Princess to be Partner with him in his Throne, as well as in his Bed, than of late years: This hath been taken notice of by both *Houses of Convocation*, &c. How busie have these been, with Non-Jurors, in the momentous Transactions of the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, to promote whatsoever they thought had a tendency to defeat the Act of Settlement? From whence do these draw their Hopes? Is it not from *France*? Are they not animated by the Assistance they expect from that Monarch? Have they not been observed, with Sorrow in their Faces, to hang down their Heads whensoever any eminent Victory, or Success brought Her Majesty to *St. Paul's*? What a superfaturation of Books, Pamphlets, and Newspapers, arrainging the Queen's Title to the Crown, (asserting that of the Pretender) hath of late flown to and fro in the Kingdom? These are the Men that frequent places of publick Resort, censuring and inveighing against the Conduct of the late Parliament for Rejecting the most advantageous *Treaty of Commerce* that was ever proposed: There is little doubt to be made but they think it so, but to whom? not to *England*, but to *France*: This is that which raises their Choler, that *France*, by the Rejection thereof, hath been deprived of a Million a Year of *Great Britain's* Treasure; which would have weaken'd Us, but render'd Her more formidable, and thereby enabled the French King (if he should think fit) with their Assistance, to attempt another Revolution in favour of the Pretender: So true is that of the Doctor I have so often mention'd; "Whenever we lose our Trade, we must bid farewell to
 " that Wealth and Strength which have hitherto enabled us
 " to preserve our Liberties against the Designs of *Spain* and
 " *France*, the two greatest Monarchys that have been erected since the Declension of the *Roman Empire*. Want
 " of due Circumspection in a Point so Essential to the very
 " Existence of this Kingdom, may, perhaps in less than an
 " Age, reduce us to be the Prey of some Conquerors, notwithstanding our large Estates in Land, the Fertility of
 " our Soil, the Richness of our Product, and the Convenience of our Ports; which natural Advantages, if not well
 " made use of, and directed, instead of becoming a Defence,
 " are rather so many Motives to invite over Invaders of a
 " Country which suffers its naval Strength, the effect of
 " Trade

Trade, and of Trade only, so to languish as to be no longer in a Posture to defend itself.

To press this Argument, I shall subjoyn two or three Considerations.

1. Let us consider, That the French King is a Politick and Ambitious Prince, hath long thirsted after Universal Empire, his Maxims of Government suitable, and the Steps taken extraordinary. Dr. King, now Archbishop of *Dublin*, in his Sermon before the Lords Justices of *Ireland*, the 16th of *Novemb.* 1698, takes notice of the several Advantages made for that purpose. "The Duke of *Lorraine* turn'd out of his Dukedom; the Prince of *Orange* (his present Majesty) depriv'd of his Principality of *Orange*; the *Empire* was partly to be given up to the *Turk*; the remaining Princes were to apply to *France* for Protection, and to chuse his Son King of the *Romans*; the Dukedom of *Savoy* was to be brought in under the notion of Pupillage; the Princes of *Italy* were frightned, bought, or wheedled out of their strong Holds, and the Keys of their Country (such were *Casal* and *Guastalla*) put into French Hands; *Sicily* was perswaded to Rebel, and solicited to serve the *Spaniard*, as they had done the French before in the famous *Vespers*; *Genoa* was to be Bomb'd, *England* Bought, and *Holland* Drown'd; *Spain* had a barren Queen, designedly made so, as many believe, put upon him, that his Crown might fall to *France* by Succession; the Northern Kingdoms taken off from assisting their Neighbours, and bought into something worse than a Neutrality. The great Contrivers and Managers of these were the French King, the great Turk, and I need not name the third in the *Triumvirate*: 'Tis too much that we groan yet under the mischievous Effects of their Conspiracy.----- And there is not one Prince or State in all *Europe* that has not been concerned in the fatal Effects thereof.

I must, indeed, own, that thro' Divine Goodness this Confederacy is broken, the Treasure of *France* in great measure exhausted, her Armies weakened by the many Glorious Victories obtained by Her Majesties Forces, and those of Her Allies, under the Conduct of their Illustrious Generals. But is not *Spain* in the Hands of one of the House of *Bourbon*, and nearly ally'd to the Crown of *France*? And History informs us, that *Spain*, two Ages

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ago, contested for the Empire of *Europe*; and should these be united, or in the Power of *France*, "Nothing can be more evident (as the Queen wisely observ'd in Her Speech to the Parliament the 27th of *Octob.* 1705) than, that if the French King continues Master of the *Spanish* Monarchy, the Balance of Power in *Europe* is utterly destroy'd; and he will be able in a short time to engross the Trade and Wealth of the World. And altho' at the conclusion of the Peace, *rebus sic stantibus*, the restoring the whole Monarchy of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*, could not be obtain'd, "The Consequences of which (as Her Majesty adds in Her Speech) will not only be safe and advantageous, but glorious for *England*. Her Majesty therefore consulting the Interest of her Subjects, and the Safety of her Dominions, hath procur'd Renunciations and Settlements to be made and ratify'd in the most strong and solemn manner, both in *France* and *Spain*, to prevent for ever their being united. Norwithstanding this, had not the Parliament great Reason, left by confirming the 8th and 9th Articles of the *Treaty of Commerce* they should thereby open a Trade, which would prove more advantageous to *France* than the Mines of *Peru* and *Potosi*, which she will have the management of whilst *Philip* is on the Throne of *Spain*: Besides, they were not ignorant, that the solemn Renunciations and Oaths made by *Lewis* 14, and the Infanta *Maria Theresa*, upon their Marriage, enrol'd and register'd in the several Courts of *France*, did not hinder his Majesty from taking up Arms (1667) to recover what he esteem'd devolv'd to him in Right of his Consort, nor from seizing the Monarchy of *Spain* after the decease of *Charles* 2d. Very remarkable are the Expressions in a Treatise publish'd by the King's Order, ann. 1667, intitul'd, *A Treatise concerning the Rights of the Most Christian Queen*, wherein speaking of these sorts of Renunciations, he saith, *They are inconsistent and incompatible with Nature: for Kingdoms not devolving to the nearest in Blood by Inheritance, but by Birth-right, none can renounce them by any Act or Deed whatsoever, because Birth-right is the Right of Nature, inseparable from the Person, inalienable, and not to be yielded either by Renunciation, or any other way.-----The Right of the Crown and Sceptre is not like those venal Possessions that are traded with, and are subject to all the Vicissitudes occasion'd by the Interest and Inconstancy of private Men, but a kind of Priesthood, Vocation, and Sacred Mission, which forms a Spiritual, Conjugal, and Indissoluble Tie of the Prince or Princess, with his or her State; and which, like a precious Particle of the Deity, flowing from Heaven to Earth, for*

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ever preserves the immutableness of its Principle, having no other Sphere of Activity than that of Heaven, where the Hand of God has fix'd it; that is the Person in which he has fasten'd the Sovereignty, which is a part of himself. Agreeably hereunto M. Aubery; the famous Civilian declares, That the Fundamental Maxims of the State do not allow, upon any Account or Pretence whatsoever, either the Subjects or Princes to make a Divorce, and separate one from the other. And he instances in Lewis the Debonair, and Francis the first Kings of France. And that the Oath annexed to such Renunciations doth not make them the more valid. We are told by the Author before quoted, That one of the first Maxims of the Canon-Law is, that an Oath is not a Tie of Iniquity, which may exact the Performance of an unjust Thing: It is the Minister of Truth, not of its Contrary, and is never subservient to a Surprise.

I may add hereunto the Letters Patents granted by the Most Christian King to the Duke of Anjou to secure his Right of Succession to the Crown of France, bearing date in Decemb. 1700, and register'd in Parliament the 1st of February following; in which, taking notice of his Grandson, now known by the Name of Philip V. King of Spain, being ready to enter into his Kingdom, and to answer the eager Vows of his new Subjects, he adds, "That mighty Event does not hinder us from looking beyond the present Time, and at a Time when our Succession seems to be secur'd, We think it equally the Duty of a King and of a Father to make known our Will for the future, pursuant to the Notions inspir'd by those two Qualifications; being therefore fully perswaded, that the K. of Spain our Grandson will ever retain the same Affection, and the same Sentiments he has given us so many Instances of, towards us, towards our House, and towards the Kingdom where he was born; and that his Example uniting his new Subjects with ours, will create perpetual Amity, and the most perfect Correspondence between them: We should also believe we did him a wrong we are not capable of, should we, from henceforward, look upon a Prince we give up at the unanimous Request of the Spanish Nation as a Stranger. For these Reasons, and other weighty Consideration us thereunto moving, &c. We have by these Presents, sign'd with our own Hand, said, declar'd and ordain'd, do say, declare, and ordain; and it is our Will and Pleasure that our Dearest, and most Entirely beloved Grandson the K. of Spain, shall always retain his Birth-right in the same manner, as if he had his actual Residence in our Kingdom."

I might further take notice of the vast Additions and Enlargements the present K. of France hath annex'd to his Dominions and Territories by Treaties, by Conquests, &c. No less, as a late Writer computes, (from whom I have borrow'd some of these Authorities) than 8 Sovereign Provinces, 2 Archbishopricks, 9 Bishopricks, 30 of the strongest Places in the World, 70 Cities, some of which are reckon'd amongst the finest in Europe, and more than 3000 Market-Towns or Villages: It is probable some of these may have been regain'd or restor'd since the Treaty of Ryswick. Notwithstanding, such Acquisitions cannot but appear formidable to Europe, and excite all the Princes and States thereof to preserve a Balance of Power. I shall conclude this Consideration with the Words of his late Majesty K. William, in his last Speech to the Parliament, Decemb. 31. 1701. By the French King's placing his Grandson on the Throne of Spain, he is in a Condition to oppress the rest of Europe, unless speedy and effectual Measures be taken: Under this Pretence he is become the real Master of the whole Spanish Monarchy, he has made it to be entirely depending on France, and disposes of it as of his own Dominions; and by that means he has surrounded his Neighbours in such a manner, that the Name of Peace may be said to continue, yet they are put to the expence and inconveniences of War. This must affect England in the nearest and most sensible manner, in respect to our Trade, which will soon become precarious in all the valuable Branches of it, in respect to our Peace and Safety at Home, which we cannot hope shall long continue, and also to that part which England ought to take in the Preservation of the Liberty of Europe.

In the next place I shall very briefly consider the State of the Protestant Religion at this Day: Is not the Protestant Interest much weaken'd, if not destroy'd in Bohemia, Poland, Austria, Moravia, and Hungary? The Newburgers are now Papists, the Palatinate wasted with Persecution, the Saxons alarm'd by their Prince changing his Religion, Protestantism extirpated in France, the Northern Princes quarrelling and weakening one-another. Hath not one of them for many years promoted the Interest of France, and prevented the Success of one of the greatest and most important Designs that was concerted during the late War? Hath not France been the greatest Enemy to Protestants? in what manner, is besides my present purpose to relate. Is it not from thence, That the vast Body of Papists (as the House of Commons of Ireland expresses themselves) have entertain'd Hopes, that the Succession in the Protestant Line, as settled by several Acts of Parliament in Great Britain,

tain, will be defeated. The Parliament, therefore, did not only consult the Interest of *England*, but also the Protestant Religion, in refusing to make such an Addition to the Wealth and Power of *France*, as the confirming of the *Treaty of Commerce* would have done.

3. Let us, in the last place, consider the State of Affairs in *Europe*, more particularly that of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; the Emperor left engag'd in a War with *France* and *Spain*, *Landau* and *Friburg* surrender'd, *Barcelona* encompass'd with an Army, *Portugal* apprehensive of an Invasion, the Northern Protestant Countries in Confusion, Treaties of Commerce obstructed, new Difficulties started. It is not long since that the young Chevalier attempted to Land in *Scotland*, in order to dethrone Her Majesty. The Medals and the Insolency of the Advocates of *Edinburgh*, and many of the late Addresses from that Nation, sufficiently shew what Kindness they have for the illustrious House of *Hannover*. With what Insolence have the Papists in *Ireland*, where they are very numerous, upon all occasions discover'd themselves? It would be very unhappy for *England* if ever a Rebellion should beg'n there, assisted with French Troops. The Parliament, there now sitting, have their Fears; and there are some living who remember the unparel'd Barbarities of the Massacre in 1641; more that can attest the Truth of what the present Archbishop of *Dublin* relates in his Thanksgiving-Sermon, 1690, wherein he thus complains: *Our Estates were taken away, and this Kingdom cut off from England by Acts passed in our late pretended Parliament; our Houses were fill'd by Soldiers; our Churches possess'd by Romish Priests; our Persons shut up in Prisons, and our Religious Assemblies interdicted; our Friends and Relations, our Nobility, Gentry and Clergy driven, for the most part, out of the Kingdom, attainted for Life and Estates.* It must be acknowledg'd, that the late Transactions in that Nation do shew that the People, their Representatives, have not forgot these Calamities, nor their Deliverances. Oh! may the Sense thereof unite and fix them in a constant Loyalty to the Queen, true Zeal for the Protestant Succession, that neither the Partisans of *France*, or Emiffaries of *Rome*, may ever be able to Break, Bribe, or Wheedle them into Parties, and Compliances tending to pave a Way for the Pretender to usurp the Throne of Her Majesty, to the overthrow of their Constitution and subversion of their Religion!

If we cast our Eyes on this Kingdom, and take a short survey, what Heats and Divisions are to be seen in all Counties, Cities, and Corporations thereof, when there ought to have been

been the greatest Unanimity, the fiercest Quarrels and Contests have appear'd! And that which accents the Mischief is, the unhallow'd Fury of the Pulpit hath added to these Exasperations, and set us at a greater distance from one another. This old Artifice of our Enemies to keep these Flames, like those of the *Vestal Virgins*, continually burning, is still successful; and neither the Experience of all Ages, nor the Authority of our Saviour, hath effectually taught us this short Maxim of divine Truth, That every Kingdom divided against itself is brought to Desolation. What Doctrins have of late been broacht verging on Popery, and turning Thousands out of the Pale of the Christian Church to keep our Wounds bleeding? That we are all born Slaves and Subjects to Absolute and Irresistible Power: That no Religion, Law, Fault, or Forfeiture can alter or diminish the fundamental Hereditary Right of the Succession: This is pleasing Doctrin to *France*, since the eldest Branch of the House of *Bourbon* is but a few removes from the Crown of *England* in the Hereditary Line. Are we not lately amus'd with a Book in *Folio*, (advertiz'd in the *Gazette*) written as one expresses it, with the Air of a Courtier, and all the appearance of a Scholar; the Subject-matter of which is only to arraign the Nation of Treason and Rebellion, and his late Majesty K. *William* of Usurpation, nay, to absolve our present Queen upon no other terms than a good Intention to resign the Crown to a Right Heir; which Heir it seems is the same we call the Pretender? With what diligence have ancient Records, and the most celebrated Libraries been search'd for the compiling thereof! Have we not had the Unalienable Indefeasible Hereditary Right to the Crown asserted in numerous Addresses, and from the Pulpit?

Letter to the B. of Carlisle.

What strenuous Endeavours are us'd, and nice Distinctions coin'd, to satisfy Mens Scruples, and rescind the Obligation of the *Abjuration Oath*, and that of *Allegiance*? That in the former the Legal (not the Divine or Birth-) Right is abjur'd; and as to the latter, That an Oath to the Possessor of a Crown doth not bind in Conscience against the Right Heir: That there's no Legislative Authority under a King *de facto*, nor any Acts of Parliament valid until confirm'd by the King *de jure*: That 'tis not the bare Act of seising and filling a Throne, but the Will of the Possessor, that must denominate him an Usurper. Are not such, and the like, Notions calculated to serve the Interest of the Pretender? Do not such Principles tend to overturn the British Monarchy and Constitution? to defeat all our Acts of Settlement and Safety? Is it not to serve

the

the same design, that we have a Speech, of suspected credit, now printed under the Name of Bp Merks, who adhered to *Riob. II.* after he was depos'd, and was convicted for being in a Conspiracy to murder *Hen. IV.* and bring a French Navy and Army to invade *England*? Notwithstanding his being so vile a Traytor, yet because of his being of the same Opinion with the Author of *Hereditary Right of the Crown, &c.* he must be stiled a *Man of Conscience, Honour, and Integrity.* Certainly 'twas such Persons and Principles gave Encouragement to the Pretender with an inconsiderable Force to invade her Majesties Dominions: What Vipers must they be, to make such returns to the Best of Queens*, whose Endeavours (as she assur'd her Parliament) *should never be wanting to make all her People safe and happy!* That She should imploy none but such as were heartily for the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, whose Interest no Person cou'd be more truly concern'd for than herself: That all that is dear to us is safe under her Government, and must be irrecoverably lost if ever the Designs of a *Papish Pretender*, bred up in the Principles of the most Arbitrary Government, shou'd take place: That Her Principles must always keep her entirely firm to the Interest and Religion of the Ch. of *England*: That She esteem'd *K. William* the great Support not only of these Kingdoms, but of all *Europe*: That She plac'd Her chief Dependance upon those who had given such repeated Proofs of the greatest Warmth and Concern for the support of the *Revolution*, security of Her Person, and the *Protestant Succession*: After such charming Eloquence from the Throne; after Her Majesties continued Care for the Prosperity of all her Subjects; after so many express Declarations of Her Royal Intentions; after the Successes of seven glorious Campaigns, and Her wise Administration of Affairs, she had rais'd the Honour of *Great Britain* beyond the pitch that the greatest of Her Progenitors had ever advanc'd it; one might rationally expect there shou'd not be any of Her Subjects heard traducing the *Revolution*, in which She acted so magnanimous a Part; any arraigning her Title to the Crown, which is indubitable; any to favour the Designs of a *Pretender*, in opposition thereto. But, alas! with Sorrow and Resentment I write it, have we not many among us, who, if God Almighty had not signaliz'd a Day by our Deliverance from *Popery* and *Slavery*, must have liv'd in *Exile* and *Poverty*, now publickly vilifying the Means and Principles by which it was brought about? Others, that have amassed

*Vid. the Collect. of Her Majesties Speeches, Messages, &c.

massed vast Treasures, receiv'd particular Marks of Royal Favour, advanc'd to Preferment in Church and State, who, contrary to many sacred and tremendous Oaths, without any regard or sense of *Honour, Duty, or Religion*, have visibly promoted the Interest of the Person they have abjur'd? I shall not add more on this unpleasant Subject, than briefly to enquire into the Causes of the present Insolence, Folly, and Ingratitude of *Papists, Jacobites*, and the Friends of the *young Chevalier* on t'other side the Water: I shall briefly mention two.

1. They know that no degrees of Piety, Virtue, or Excellence can exempt from the Grave; that the statelyst Palaces and tallest Cedars, as well as the meanest Cottages and smallest Shrubs, have their decay and period; therefore as they are looking beyond a frail (tho' precious) Life, so they are providing against a sad and disconsolate *Day of Sorrow*, by thinking to place on the Throne the Person from whom alone they can expect Favour and Preferment.

2. It proceeds from the Dependance they have on the Assistance of a neighbouring Monarch, inclin'd by *Choice*, as well as oblig'd by *Promise* to the reputed Father to place the Strippling on the *British Throne*; what but the Hopes and Assurances hereof hath made them in so many various Instances shew their Kindness and Regard for the Interest of *France*, repining at the Overthrow of her Armies, and telling us from the Pulpit, that *our Victories had undone us?* What other Cause can be assign'd for their scurrilous and barbarous treatment of a General whom the Queen hath delighted to honour, but that he vanquish'd so many Dukes and Marshals of *France*, storm'd and took their fortified Cities and Towns, and forc'd their defeated Troops to retire to the Confines of their Country to secure their *Metropolis?* What but this hath imploy'd several Mercenary Pens to rail at the Emperor and the States of *Holland?* What but this made them express their Zeal, from the Press and Places of publick resort, against demolishing *Dunkirk*, and for the *French Treaty of Commerce?*

If therefore the Honour of the Queen, the securing the *Protestant Succession*, the Safety of *Our Religion*, the Continuance of *Our Constitution*, the Preservation of *Our Trade*, the Increase of *Riches* and *Naval Strength*, encouraging *Tillage*, and advancing the *Prosperity of Three Kingdoms*, are to be valued and promoted with the utmost Diligence and Vigor; if these are worthy the Care and Concern of all true Patriots and Englishmen, then what I've said is undoubtedly sufficient to Justifie the late *House of Commons* in rejecting the *Bill of Commerce*.

But

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But if Persons are resolv'd to shut their Eyes, stop their Ears against Sense and Reason, and every thing proper to convince Rational Creatures; if they'll receive with an implicit Faith whatsoever shall be dictated to 'em, altho' little less absurd than *Transubstantiation*; if they're not to be startl'd with the Loss of the best Branches of our Trade abroad, the Ruin of our Manufactures at home; if neither the Excellency of our Constitution, the Advantages of Liberty, can persuade their Endeavours for their continuance, nor the Prospect of Poverty, Fetters, and wooden Shoes fright 'em from agreeing with Measures most likely to introduce these Miseries, what can we ascribe this Infatuation to, but a Judgment sent from Heaven for our Sins, and our marchless Ingratitude for past Deliverances.

In such a Case we may represent *Britannia*, sitting at the *Exchange* solitary and naked, with dishevel'd Hair, with all the appearances of *Sorrow* and *Dejection*, like the Figure at the Southwest corner of her Majesties Statue at *St. Paul's*; round her, the *Looms of our Weavers*, either broken or cover'd with Dust and Cobwebs; the *Tools of Artificers* rusty; in one Hand Commissions of Bankruptsy; in the other, a large Cup fill'd with the Tears of distressed Families; Grass starting up between the Stones of the Exchange, her Merchants retir'd, and as a Consequence thereof, their Ships without Tackle, lying rotting in the *Thames*; our Seamen gone abroad to seek Employment; our Manufacturers either gone also, or with their Wives and Children wandring throughout the Nation, or else thronging at the Doors of the Overseers of their respective Parishes, for Relief and Sustenance; Tradesmen standing in their Shops idle for want of Customers; empty Houses ruinous and abounding; Traders, Farmers, and Grasiers, with their Families, clad in Leather and Ruffet; the whole Nation a Scene of Sorrow, Distress, and Anguish! Such a state no good Christian can wish to his Enemies, much less contribute to bring upon his Native Country. I shall add no more, but that God Almighty would be pleas'd to inspire the Queen's Majesty, Her Council, the Legislature, with Wisdom, to see and pursue those Things that make for the Peace, Tranquility, and Happiness of Great Britain and Ireland.

F I N I S.

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